

# CONTENTS

---

<i>List of Figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xv
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xvii

## PART I INTRODUCTION

1. India and the World	3
DAVID M. MALONE, C. RAJA MOHAN, AND SRINATH RAGHAVAN	
2. Five Approaches to the Study of Indian Foreign Policy	21
KANTI BAJPAI	
3. Theorizing India's Foreign Relations	35
SIDDHARTH MALLAVARAPU	

## PART II EVOLUTION OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

4. The Foreign Policy of the Raj and Its Legacy	51
SNEH MAHAJAN	
5. Before Midnight: Views on International Relations, 1857–1947	65
RAHUL SAGAR	
6. Establishing the Ministry of External Affairs	80
PALLAVI RAGHAVAN	
7. Nehru's Foreign Policy: Realism and Idealism Conjoined	92
ANDREW B. KENNEDY	
8. Indira Gandhi's Foreign Policy: Hard Realism?	104
SURJIT MANSINGH	

9. At the Cusp of Transformation: The Rajiv Gandhi Years, 1984–1989	117
SRINATH RAGHAVAN	
10. Foreign Policy after 1990: Transformation through Incremental Adaptation	131
C. RAJA MOHAN	
11. India's National Security	145
SUMIT GANGULY	
12. Resources	160
LIGIA NORONHA	
13. India's International Development Program	173
ROHAN MUKHERJEE	
14. India's Soft Power	188
RANI D. MULLEN	

### PART III INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS

15. State and Politics	205
PAUL STANILAND AND VIPIN NARANG	
16. The Parliament	219
RUDRA CHAUDHURI	
17. Officialdom: South Block and Beyond	232
TANVI MADAN	
18. The Private Sector	247
RAJIV KUMAR	
19. The Media in the Making of Indian Foreign Policy	259
MANOJ JOSHI	
20. Think-Tanks and Universities	271
AMITABH MATTOO AND RORY MEDCALF	
21. Mother India and Her Children Abroad: The Role of the Diaspora in India's Foreign Policy	285
LATHA VARADARAJAN	

22. Public Opinion	298
DEVESH KAPUR	
23. Indian Scientists in Defence and Foreign Policy	312
JAIDEEP A. PRABHU	
24. The Economic Imperatives Shaping Indian Foreign Policy	326
SANJAYA BARU	

## PART IV GEOGRAPHY

25. India and the Region	341
STEPHEN P. COHEN	
26. China	356
ALKA ACHARYA	
27. India's Policy Toward Pakistan	370
RAJESH BASRUR	
28. Bangladesh	384
SREERADHA DATTA AND KRISHNAN SRINIVASAN	
29. India's Nepal Policy	398
S. D. MUNI	
30. India-Sri Lanka Equation: Geography as Opportunity	412
V. SURYANARAYAN	
31. India's Bifurcated Look to 'Central Eurasia': The Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan	424
EMILIAN KAVALSKI	
32. The Gulf Region	437
TALMIZ AHMAD	
33. India's 'Look East' Policy	452
AMITAV ACHARYA	
34. The Indian Ocean as India's Ocean	466
DAVID SCOTT	

**PART V KEY PARTNERSHIPS**

35. US–India Relations: The Struggle for an Enduring Partnership 481  
ASHLEY J. TELLIS
36. Western Europe 495  
CHRISTIAN WAGNER
37. India and Russia: The Anatomy and Evolution of a Relationship 509  
RAJAN MENON
38. Brazil: Fellow Traveler on the Long and Winding Road to *Grandeza* 524  
VARUN SAHNI
39. Israel: A Maturing Relationship 539  
P. R. KUMARASWAMY
40. India and South Africa 552  
KUDRAT VIRK
41. Unbreakable Bond: Africa in India's Foreign Policy 566  
CONSTANTINO XAVIER

**PART VI MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY**

42. India and Global Governance 581  
POORVI CHITALKAR AND DAVID M. MALONE
43. India and the United Nations: Or Things Fall Apart 596  
MANU BHAGAVAN
44. India and the International Financial Institutions 609  
JASON A. KIRK
45. India's Contemporary Plurilateralism 623  
SAMIR SARAN
46. India in the International Trading System 636  
PRADEEP S. MEHTA AND BIPUL CHATTERJEE

- 
47. Multilateralism in India's Nuclear Policy: A Questionable  
Default Option 650  
RAJESH RAJAGOPALAN
48. Multilateral Diplomacy on Climate Change 663  
NAVROZ K. DUBASH AND LAVANYA RAJAMANI

## PART VII LOOKING AHEAD

49. India's Rise: The Search for Wealth and Power in the  
Twenty-First Century 681  
SUNIL KHILNANI
50. Rising or Constrained Power? 699  
E. SRIDHARAN
- Index* 713